NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER:

SUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN RAILWAY.

During the summer we gave some account of the plan for the shortening the time of passage beween New York and London," and of the great Railway Convention held at Portland, July 31, and succeeding days, in aid of the scheme. We are now furnished with a copy of the proceedings of that Convention in a pamphlet of some 180 pages, with a map showing the relative distances between New York and London by the commonly sailed route and by the one proposed by the plan before us, which contemplates the shortest sea voyage from the easternmost point in Nova Scotia to the west coast of Ireland, a distance of 2,000 mlles.

By this plan it is proposed to reduce the time of passage from New York to London to six days. The pamphlet before us is got up in a most creditable style, and gives-

1st. The plan as originally presented to the Legislature of Maine.

2d. The proceedings of the executive committee

3d. The doings of the Railway Convention 4th. The charter for the "European and North American Railway," granted by the Legislature of

The Convention at Portland was, we understand. one of the most interesting spectacles ever presented in this or any other country. Delegates were present from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Canada, and from the Northern States of the Union. The speeches on the occasion were characterized by the most enlarged and liberal sentiments; and for force of diction, ele-

gance of composition, and beauty of illustration, are said to have rarely been surpassed. It was a generous outpouring of fraternal feeling and of enlarged philanthropy. All parties seemed to be carried away by a conscious pride that the old English family of colonists, after seventy-five years separation, had met to renew the vows of fraternal fellowship Speeches were made by the leading officials of

the Provinces, such as Messrs. UNIACKE, Attorney General of Nova Scotia; WILMOT, Attorney General and WRIGHT, Solicitor General, of New Brunswick. Among the speeches, those of J. H. GRAY, a member of the Parliament of New Brunswick for the city of St. John, and of Gen. DEARBORN, of Massachusetts, are said to have been particularly admired.

terest throughout the British Empire, and the com-pletion of the railway line from Dublin to Galway, in 1851, will lead to important changes in the present plans of steam navigation between the two continents.

The distance from New York to Halifax, by railway, will be nine hundred miles, as follows: From New York to Portland......350 miles.
Portland to Waterville......82

TO A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE	
Already built	
Waterville to Bangor 50	
Bangor to St. John, N. B	
St. John to Nova Scotia line 134	100
Line of New Brunswick to Halifax 124	

It requires four hundred and sixty-eight miles of road to be built. Of this distance, from Waterville to Bangor is soon to be put under contract, making four hundred and eighty-two miles finished, and rebuilt in addition. Of this portion, ninety miles are in the State of Maine, two hundred and fourteen miles in New Brunswick, and one hundred and

twenty-four miles in Nova Scotia. It is proposed to make this line from Bangor to Halifax of four hundred and eighteen miles under one company, and for that purpose to get concurrent charters in Maine. New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Maine has already granted the necessary charter, with a capital of \$15,000,000, and the plan is to adopt the same charter in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, by a simple act constituting the Maine

company a corporation in each Province. The Legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are expected to assemble in January next. Between Portland and Montreal the line of railway is in rapid progress at each end, and will be com-

pleted in October, 1852. The completion of the two lines from Portland and Montreal, and from Portland to Halifax, will bring the Upper and Lower British Provinces into connexion with each other, and with the whole Union, introducing great changes in the social and commercial arrangement of the Northern States and British Provinces

The annexed communication was received some time ago, when the crowded state of our columns excluded it and a great many others from insertion. It still possesses interest for the facts which it

The Constitutional Right to reclaim Fugitives from labor not practically abrogated as al-

Messrs. Entrons: We do not believe that a correct representation was made of the public opinion of the North on the subject of the duty enjoined by the constitution of delivering up fugitive slaves on the occasion of a recent debate in the House of Representatives. A member from Georgia, on the 13th of December, is reported to have said :

"A great constitutional right, which was declared by a stinguished Northern Justice of the Supreme Court (Judge Baldwin) to be the corner-stone of the Union, and without which he avers, in a judicial decision, is would never have been formed, has already practically been abrogated in all of the non-slaveholding States—I mean the right to reclaim fugitives from labor."

In reply to this statement, I wish to recur to a case decided in this State about a year ago, by which certain parties from Kentucky recovered before the United States Court the sum of two thousand dollars against one of the persons implicated, a citizen of Marshall, Michigan. The jury brought in this verdict pursuant to the constitution, and the money was paid. Does this look like an "abrogation" of the right referred to? Moreover, the writer of this communication met this individual on a steamer upon the Lakes last autumn. A large number of Northern gentlemen, passengers on the boat, ly if not severely wounded. (many of them gentlemen of great intelligence,) were discuss era brethren, and I am happy to say that the hero of the Marshall affair appeared to be almost (if not entirely) alone upon this question. We are of opinion that the sacred obligations of the constitution which influenced the decision of the jury above referred to, and which were fully assented to by the passengers on that boat, (men of various professions, ing this subject of the duties of the North towards our Southby the passengers on that boat, (men of various professions, occupations, and places of residence,) are in like manner recognized by the great body of well disposed citizens at the North. Thus injustice is done by assertions of the character above quoted, calling in question the loyalty of the North to the constitution. Such averments are calculated unduly to indame public opinion at the South, and it is proper that they should be reminded of the facts bergin alluded to flame public opinion at the South, and it is proper that they should be reminded of the facts berein alluded to. The country is looking with great interest to the deliberations of the present Congress, and the people expect that such wisdom and moderation will characterize its action as will lead to the preservation of the Union Місніван, 1850.

It will be remembered that the Hon. SETH BARTON, while American Charge d'Affaires in Chili, married a lady of high American Charge d'Antaires in Uniti, married a 1809 of linguation of the lacinty with standing in that country. She came with him to the United States, and took up her residence at New Orleans amid a large circle of loving and admiring friends. From the papers of Friday we regret to see that her life has been suddenly terminated by the cholers. She died on the 14th instant, aged twenty-eight years.—Mobile Register.

A Pro Lower !—Various illustrations of the lacinty with which a perpendicular line may be changed into a horizontal one were witnessed in our streets this morning, where attempts had been made to wash the sidewalks while the thermometer was ten degrees below the freezing point! There should be an ordinance to prevent such experiments upon the firm-standing, limbs, and necks of our citizens.

LAYING DOWN THE LAW.

FROM THE PITTSBURGE DAILY GAZETTE. JUDGE GRIER AND THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL. At the opening of the United States Circuit Court, on Tuesday morning last, Judge GRIER announced the appointment by the Court of Samuel E. Hench, Esq. of Juniata county, Adolphus D. Wilson, Esq. of Lycoming county, and J. B. Sweitzer, Esq. of Alleghany county, as Commissioners of the Court; and at the same time took occasion to request the members of the bar present and others to recomnend to him gentlemen in the neighboring counties who were competent and willing to perform the duties of the office. He said that the late act of Congress concerning fugitives from labor had imposed it as a duty upon the Court to make such find that some who had heretofore been appointed to this office had been compelled by threats and denunciations, through fear of injury to their profession, property, or persons, to refuse the execu-tion of the authority conferred upon them. He did not mean to censure any who, under such circumstances, had felt unwilling to run the risk of injury or odium in the service of their country. But he would take this occasion to observe that the time had come when those who professed obedience to the laws-who were desirous of the prosperity of this Union-who were anxious to avoid and civil war with all its horrors, must take their

stand, and no longer shrink from their duty as good citizens. Heretofore those who had been accustomed to hold their neetings and conventions to howl forth curses and denuncia ion against the institutions of the country, both civil and ecclesiastical, had been treated as harmless fanatics—with pity, if not contempt. But when their railing and vituperation were ecoming successful as means of intimidation against the nonest and same portion of the community—when mobs of negroes were urged on to madness, and counselled to arm themselves for the purpose of rebellion against the laws, and were hounded on to murder its officers—such diseased members of the body politic could no longer be treated with contempt or indifference. And while on this subject, he would say that this city, which contains so many excellent and valuable citizens, whom he had long esteemed and respected, has seen the subject of much libel and slander abroad, false and infounded, as he would fondly believe. He referred not to the standing and jest of our peculiar taste with regard to the place from which we selected our Chief Magistrate, (Joseph Barker,) but to a much more serious accusation affecting some f our most honored and respected citizens. Was it possible that such men, possessing property, character, and the reputation of sanity, could so far have forgotten their duty as christians and citizens as to be found haranguing large assemblies of negroes and others, urging them to arm themselves o oppose the execution of the laws with violence and to murler its officers? Did such persons not know that those who exhort others to commit murder are themselves accessories to the murder; that those who urge others unto a treasonable position to their Government are themselves traitors? If a poor negro, driven to madness by such harangues

hould murder an officer of the law, must be be hanged, and his white adviser go clear ? Such would not be found to be the law, and it certainly would not be justice. He would say that if the addresses imputed to certain of our citizens were not grossly misstated and exaggerated, (as he believed and hoped they were,) they may be thankful that the negroes, either through a want of opportunity or the possession of more prudence and honesty than their white advisers, have not followed their wicked advice; for if they had, he should probably have had more painful duties to perform with regard o them, and which he hoped by these remarks to avert in future; otherwise they might rely on it that those who opposed the execution of the laws with violence and bloodshe should most assuredly be punished; and those who recklessly advised and tempted them to their ruin, should share in quiring four hundred and eighteen miles more to be their punishment, let their wealth and standing in the community be what it might. In conclusion, the Judge expressed a hope that the commissioner appointed by the Court would, when called upon to execute the law, do it with impartiality and firmness, regardless of threats and denun-

BALTIMORE. NOVEMBER 25.

A LAUNCH-QUICK WORK .- On Saturday last Messre Fardy & Auld launched from their ship-yard, on the south side of the basin, a clipper fore-topsail schooner of one hun-She was built for and under the superintendence of Captain Francis Neill, and is 85 feet in length on deck, 22 feet beam, and 8 feet hold. She is designed to go to the Pacific. She is entirely painted, and ready to receive spars and rigging. What is remarkable about this schooner, and evidences the facilities afforded in Baltimore for the construction of vessels is that she was contracted to be built in sixty days. At the time of the contract not a particle of material was ready or engaged, yet all the material was purchased, including every thing used on the schooner, and worked, and the schooner walve, though part of it has been broken off." time of the contract not a particle of material was ready or launched in the short space of twenty-nine working days This is said to be the shortest time on record for such a feat. She was not thrown together, but will challenge inspection, whether material or workmanship is considered .- Sun.

NAVAL .- The United States ship Vincennes, WILLIAM . Hunson commander, sailed from San Francisco on the 14th of October for Callao and Valparaiso, having on board \$350,000 in gold dust and specie, on mercantile account.

The United States sloops of war Plymouth and Marion were at Hong Kong on the 18th of August ; officers and crew all well.

We learn from the Fairmount (Va.) Banner that several failures have occurred among the contractors on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in that quarter. The Banner says : "The effect has operated severely against numbers of the hard-working laborers, as well as others who trusted them. Three of the contractors have left for parts unknown."

STRANGE PHENOMENON .- An English brig, the Eller Anne, was lately struck by a meteoric stone while in the British channel. The report was like a musket charge, and the planking of the deck was torn up and perforated in several places as if by musket shots. No signs of a thunder storm were to be seen or heard, though the day was dull and lowering, with a fresh breeze. The occurrence is said to be very rare in the British channel, though frequent up the dropsy on the chest.

The Wilmington (Del.) Republican states that a gentle man of that city, suspecting that some one had occasionally committed depredations on his flowers, had a gun placed in a position that any one opening the door would discharge it. It seems that he was not mistaken in his suspicions, as a little before day on Saturday morning the gun was discharged, and a man living in the eastern portion of the city was slight-

RETURNING CALIFORNIANS.—The steamers Crescen absolutely penniless, and will have to depend upon the charity decent suit of clothing, and not a cent in his pocket. He had not the least idea as to how he should get food to-day, or chance to reach home. Of all the Crescent City's passer gers, perhaps not more than twenty or thirty have gained any thing by their California trip, while hundreds of others have not only lost their all, but are also ruined in constitution.

A Pag Lower !- Various illustrations of the facility with

Boston Transcript

CASE OF THE MARSHAL IN BOSTON.

OFFICE OF ATTORNET GENERAL, NOVEMBER 25, 1850.

To THE PRESIDENT: As requested by you, I have care ully examined all the papers placed in my hands relating to ints made sgainst CHARLES DEVENS, Esq., the Marsha-Massachusetts district, for alleged neglect and derelic ion of duty in failing to execute a warrant which came to his ands for the arrest of William Crafts, a fugitive slave.

These papers, consisting chiefly of the affidavits of Mr. Devens, the marshal, his deputy, Mr. P. Riley, James Dick son, George T. Curtis, Esq., and Willis H. Hughes, agen the owner of the slave, with letters from Mr. Fay and Mr. Curtis, are berewith returned. Having perused them with care, and certainly without any bias or preposeesing is favor of the marshal or his deputy, I must say that, though appointments in places where their services were ikely to be needed. That he was much grieved to their part, it seems to me there does not sufficiently appear any cause for the censure of their conduct or the remo the marshal from office. A more commendable activity and energy might probably have been exerted by them; but they seem to have acted, to a considerable extent, upon consults tion and in concert with Mr. Hughes, the agent for the owner of the fugitive, and what might otherwise appear to be blameable in them may have been the result of that consultation and concert. In this uncertain state of the case, the declaration made by Mr. Hughes, at the conclusion of the transact tion, that he "had no complaints to make against them," or words to that effect, is entitled to and has had some influence on my judgment.

If I could have discovered any satisfactory evidence of the neglect or evasion of duty by these officers, in this case, it would have been no less consonant with my feelings than with my judgment to have recommended their instant dismis

sion from the public service. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, yours, &c.

SLAVES UNWILLING TO BE FREE

J. J. CRITTENDEN.

PROM THE MEMPHIS (TENN.) BAGLE.

Some time since Mr. Jones, a planter residing near the side of the boundary line of this county, died, and by his will set his slaves free. They number about eighty. His brother, Chamberlin Jones, Esq., who was charged with seeing the will properly executed, took the most intelligent of the negro men, and with him proceeded to Illinois, and there selected a large and valuable tract of land on which to locate the freed

On his return he discovered that they manifested some uningness to go; but apprehending that this feeling was transitory, and intent upon carrying out the last wishes of his deceased brother, he brought them to this city, on their way to the selected settlement. The boat which was to carry deceased brother, he prougate to the selected settlement. The boat which was to the selected settlement. The boat which was to the selected settlement. The boat which was at our wharf, the passage of the negroes engaged, and they themselves were assembled to proceed on board. At this juncture the negroes all gathered around Mr. Jones, and pleaded so long and earnestly for permission to remain that the pleaded so long and earnestly for permission to remain that pleaded so long and earnestly for permission to remain that he was finally moved by their entreaties. He warned them that if they remained they would have to return to their custo-mary round of duties under the overseer. They immediately and unanimously resolved that this was exactly what they

He urged them to go and be free as their late master had willed them, but was finally compelled to accede to their earn-est protestations and appeals. He no sooner announced his acquiescence in their wish than the rejoiced darkies broke out into cheers, turned their team homewards, and trooped out o Memphis as jolly a crowd as was ever seen. We understand that they had grand rejoicings on their arrival at their homes, and that they are now at work as busy and cheerful as bees.

THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION .- This body has nappily turned out to be a very harmless humbug, inasmuch as it has exemplified the course of the King of France, who,

"with forty thousand men, Marched up the hill, and then marched down sgain." The members will have the satisfaction, in their etirement, of knowing that their efforts to render themselves ridiculous have been crowned with perfect success .- Petersburg (Va.) Intelligencer.

GEORGE T. BIGELOW has been appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the decease of Judge WILDE.

The model of the first steamboat (built by John FITCH) was discovered a few days ago in the garret of the late residence of Colonel KILBOURNE, a brother-in-law of John Fitch, near the town of Columbus, in Ohio. It has been in the possession of Col. K. more than thirty years. It is thus desc in a letter to the Cincinnati Commercial:

"It is about two feet long, and set upon wheels. boiler is about a foot long and eight inches in diameter, with a flue through it, not quite in the centre, into which the fire appears to have been placed. The cylinder stands perpendicular, and the framework that supports it is not unlike tha now used by some of the low pressure boats on Lake Erie There is a paddle wheel on each side, and, in fact, every

Col. CHARLES MAY, fermerly in command of the Barracks at Carlisle, (Pa.) arrived at that place from Santa Fe on Tuesday morning, and warmly welcomed by hosts of his old friends, who, anticipating his arrival, met him at the depot. The Colonel looks well, though somewhat reduced in flesh from sickness and the hardships of a campaign in New Mexico.

THE EXPLOSION AT CONSTANTINOPLE.—Private letters from Constantinople contain the following paragraph: "The Captain Pasha's ship of 100 guns, lying at anchor in the Golden Horn, blew up at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 23d of October, and out of a crew of about 700 men, only ten are reported to have escaped."

ARKANSAS LEGISLATURE.—This body organized on the 4th instant, in the House by electing Major T. B. FLOURNOY (Dem.) Speaker; in the Senate, JOHN H. HAMPTON (Dem.) President. Governor ROANE's message is ultra on slavery.

DEATH OF GARRET D. WALL .- Gen. Garret D. Wall, United States Senator from New Jersey during Gen. Jackson's term, died on Friday night, at his residence in Burlington, N. J. His disease was

A PHYSIOLOGICAL FACT .- A surgeon in the United State army recently desired to know the most common cause of en-listments. By permission of the captain of the company, containing fifty-five, in a pledge never to disclose the name of any officer or private, except as a physical fact, the true his-tory was obtained of every man. On investigation, it appears that nine-tenths enlisted on account of some female difficulty; thirteen of them had changed their names; and forty-three were either drunk or partially so at the time of their enlistment. Most of these were men of fine talents and learning, and about one-third had once been men in elevated statio and about one-third had once been men in elevated stations of life; four had been lawyers, three doctors, and two ministers. The experimenter believes if it were not for his pledge of secrecy, that this would be as interesting a history, and would exhibit the frailty of human nature as fully, as any ex-

ments ever made on the subject of the passio TO THE OLD SOLDIERS AND THOSE OF

TO THE OLD SOLDIERS AND THOSE OF MORE RECENT SERVICE.

DICHARD POLLARD proposes to obtain warrants for your land under the late law of Congress.

He will be moderate in his charges for such services, viz: 5 per cent. commission, estimating the amount at the Government minimum price, \$1.25 per aere.

He will mention that he served in the regular army during the last war with England, as this fact may be a recommendation of employment to his brother soldiers or their representatives who are entitled to bounty lands.

tatives who are entitled to bounty lands.

Letters addressed to him, postage paid, will meet with prompt attention.

His post office is Warren, Albemarle county, Virginia.

nov 18—w4wcp

INCYCLOPÆDIA OF EXPERIMENTAL Philo vanism, heat, chemistry, meteorology, &c. by Barlow, Roget Lunn, Harvey, and others, 1 volume, quarto, many engrav-

nga.
Encyclopædia of Mechanical Philosophy, mechanics, Hy-irodynamics, Pneumatics, optics, &c. by Peter Barlow, Sir John Herschel, and others, complete in one quarto volume,

FRANCK TAYLOR.

MR. CLAY'S SPEECH AT FRANKFORT.

KENTUCKY LEGISLATURE.—HALL OF REPRESENTA TIVES, NOVEMBER 15, 1850.

Mr. PARNE, from the committee appointed to wait on Hon. HENRY CLAY, and invite him to visit the Legislature on this day, at 12 o'clock, reported that the committee performed that duty, and that Mr. CLAY responded that would afford him great pleasure, and that at the designate hour he would visit the Legislature, in the Hall of Repr

At 12 o'clock, the SENATE, preceded by the officers of that ody, entered the Hall, and the committee of invitation, ac mpanied by the Hon. HENRY CLAY, appeared. On Mr. CLAY's being introduced by the chairman of the

"Mr. CLAY: Allow me, as the organ of the repr ives of the people, to welcome you to this hall—the theatr of your early and successful labors for the prosperity and hap of the people—and to introduce you to the sons and dants of many of your co-laborers in this field of your ness. To those labors Kentucky is indebted for her resperity and her greatness.

** Always faithful to the trusts reposed in you by the pe

ple of this great commonwealth, when dangers threatened they found you the fearless defender of the Constitution and they found you the fearless defender of the Constitution and the rights of the people. Permit me, sir, to tender you the high appreciation of the members of this body of your successful efforts, as their representative in the National Councils, for the success of those measures which, we hope, will give peace and quiet to the country, and bind in an indissoluble bond our glorious Confederacy. To you, sir, to the Kentucky delegation in Congress, to the distinguished Senators Winstein, Dickinson, Cass, Foore, and others, Kentucky, and America, owes a debt of gratitude." yes, sir, America, owes a debt of gratitude.

Mr. CLAY replied as follows:

Mr. CLAY replied as follows:

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the General Assembly:
In presenting myself before you, in conformity with the resolution of the House of Representatives and the invitation received by me from the committee, I have first to perform the agreeable duty of tendering an expression of my profound acknowledgments and my grateful thanks for the distinguished honor awarded by you to the Kentucky delegation, to the patriotic and eminent Senators of the United States, to other members of Congress, and to myself, who co-operated at the late session of Congress in the adoption of measures having for their object the harmony, tranquillity, and preservation of the Union of our country. And to you, Mr. Speaker, I owe especially an expression of my obligation for the eloquent and complimentary terms in which, as the organ of the House, you have been pleased to allude to my public services on this and other theatres. In the absence of those whom you have so highly honored, in association with me, I feel in you have so highly honored, in association with me, I fee quite sure that is assuming to present for them their respectful thanks, which they could so much better do were they present here, I shall have the cordial approbation of their learts. Heretolore I have frequently received gratifying tes-imonies of the confidence and attachment of my countrymen, but they were pincipally confined to the party of which I was a member. What gives extraordinary and inexpressible va-lue to this occasion is that it has been dictated by no party feelings, but is the voluntary offering of my fellow-citizen of both political parties, who unanimously passed the resolution which has bought us together.

The last session of Congress opened under the most oring and unfavorable auspices. The public mind had bee preatly agitated, distracted, and divided upon subjects connected with the inditution of slavery. I had witnessed other periods of great contest and agitation. In the case of the ad mission of Missiuri the whole nation was greatly convulsed and there was just cause of serious apprehension for the safety of the Union. In the instance also of the opposition of South Carolina to the lariff, in 1832, 1833, there was great danger of a civil war with that State which might, in certain events, have spread to serrounding States. But what peculiarly distinguished the late struggle was that, far more than on any form occasion, was the sentiment avowed, not merely of the existence of danger to the Union, but we heard, in various quarters, an open and unsinguised declaration of a necessity and desired for its dissolution. We beheld, too, what we had never be fore seen in a time of peace, the assemblage of a sectional onvention of delegates, the tendency of which was to break

leave none open for future agitation, and, if possible, to settle them in a just and honorable manner, as to both the contending parties. How these resolutions were received, opposed, and discussed on their first presentation, it is not new the settle of the system of measures recommended by the committee of thirteen. That committee thought it expedient to unite in one bill all those posed, and discussed on their first presentation, it is not new theorem. ted by the Senate, charged with the duty of consider-

Jovernments for New Mexico and Utah, without the Wilnot provise; proposals to Texas for fixing her boundary; more efficacious provisions for the recovery of fugitive slaves; and the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. When the message of the President, recommending the admission of California into the Union, was first present ed, not entertaining myself a particle of doubt as to the pro-priety of its admission, and not being aware of the proion, and not being aware of the great and extensive opposition existing amongst the Southern members of Congress against it, I was in favor of its immediate admision as a separate and distinct measure. But, when I become acquainted with that opposition, and considering that it was a mere question of form, I thought it best to unite it with other kindred measures in one common bill.

The admission of California was opposed, first, upon the ground of its having constituted itself a State without the preious express authority of Congress; and, secondly, because he Territorial limits which it had assumed for itself were leemed to be too large and extensive. We replied, as to the first ground, that California was not the first State which had been received into the Union without the prior sanction of Congress, but that several other States had been so received; that, although it was most regular that Congress should give s previous escent, that that was a matter not depending upon the constitution, but was within the sound discretion of Congress, that, in the case of the other States, there was less ground for the course which they took, because they were iving under the blessings of law and order, and Territorial ments established for them by Congress; and that, in embrace any thing like as much arable land as is contained n several of the States of the Union; and comprehensive as hose limits are, they are not as extensive as those of Texas, which would have been made still larger, if they could have

accomplished it, by some of the very members who objected to the size of California. Prior to the last session of Congress, at the preceding se sion, and even no longer than twelve months ago, the great effort of the South was to avoid the Wilmot proviso being engrafted on territorial bills. It was that odious which created the greatest complaint, and occasioned the most excitement and agitation at the South. Well, the committee reported territorial bills for New Mexico and U:ah without the proviso. The South triumphed—triumphed by the liberal, magnanimous, and patriotic aid of Northern members. It is true that whilst the honor of the South, in that respect, is perfectly preserved, she may never enjoy the privilege or transporting slaves to either California, New Mexico, or Utah. But if she never can, whose fault is it? Not that or Congress, which has cautiously abstained from all prohibition, and has adopted the principle of non-intervention. It has left New Mexico and Utah perfectly free, when they comrespectively to form for themselves State Governments, to admit or exclude slavery as they shall deem best for their own stitutions, upon their being presented for admis Union, they are to be received as members of ved as members of the Confede-In regard to California, she, by her constitution, an not Congress, has excluded slavery. The vote of her Convention interdicting it was unanimous, nearly one-third o the Delegates themselves being from slaveholding States. In so deciding for themselves they acted in perfect conformity with every sound principle of theory and practice which has ever prevailed in this country, and in entire accordance with

the highest Southern authority. I ask, then, if there is blame, who is to be reproached for the exclusion of slavery in California, New Mexico, and Utah? Not Congress, most as-

ple of California for the exercise of an incontestable against nature and nature's God for irreversible decrethe introduction of slavery into the mountainous, mostly unprofitable regions of New Mexico and Utah. If these insurmountable obstacles can be overcome, the people of those Territories are left free to introduce slavery if they think proper. But candor obliges me to say that I think it never will be introduced there.

The most difficult, complicated, and embarrassing question which engaged our deliberations was that of the boundary of

which engaged our deliberations was that of the boundary of Texas. Three different opinions in regard to it prevailed and were entertained by respectable numbers. According to one, the western limit of Texas was the Nucces, and did not expectable numbers. end beyond it. Another opinion maintained that it stretched beyond the Nucces to the Rio del Norte, and up that river from its mouth to the southern line of New Mexico. The third opinion held that it embraced the whole country east of the Rio del Norte, from its mouth to its head, including nearly all of New Mexico. All these opinions were main-tained with great plausibility, if not shility. The Southern members, almost unanimously, at not ability. The Southern members, almost unanimously, and with great zeal and earnestness, urged the last opinion. It appeared to me that if ever there was a case upon earth in which a disputed boundary should be settled and amicably adjusted by compromise, that of Texas was one. We offer, it is true, a very large sum of money, ten millions of dollars, for the exclusion of New Mexico from her limits; but then we were previously bound, Mexico from her limits; but then we were previously bound, to the extent of nearly one-half that sum, to the creditors of Texas, in consequence of the United States having, in virtue of the resolution of annexation, appropriated to themselves all the duties on foreign imports receivable in the ports of Texas whilst independent, which had been previously pledged to those creditors. Texas, therefore, does not, in fact, receive more than about five millions of dollars for the relinquishment of her territorial claim. I voted with great pleasure for the appropriation of the money, because I hoped and believed it would be honestly and bona fide applied to the extinction of her public debt and to her consequent relief from all pecuni-ary embarrassment. And, Mr. Speaker, I wish that we had ary embarrassment. And, Mr. Speaker, I wish that we had some legitimate ground (I lament we have no legitimate ground) to advance to every debtor State in the Union a sum sufficient to pay all its debts, and to restore its credit wherever that credit has been tarnished. We are all members of one glorious Confederation, and I should be most happy to see every State standing upright and honorably in the general Confederacy, and commanding the esteem, the confidence, and the approbation of the whole world. If any one State act unworthily in reference to her public debt, her conduct brings more or less reproach upon the whole Confederacy.

I will at present say nothing (I may hereafter have occa-

brings more or less reproach upon the whole Confederacy.

I will at present say nothing (I may hereafter have occasion to say something) in respect to the fugitive slave bill, except that it was the aim of the provisions which are embodied in it to give fair, full, and efficacious effect to the constitutional provision for the surrender of fugitives. No one was hardy enough, upon the floor of the Senate, to deny the right of the owner of the fugitive slave, in virtue of the constitutions. stitution, to have his property restored to him. The only difstitution, to have his property restored to him. The only difstrence of opinion was as to the mode of effecting that object.

But the moment the constitutional right is conceded, every thing
is yielded; for all will admit that a constitutional duty on
the part of Congress should be faithfully and effectually, and
not illusively and inadequately performed. The last of the
measures in the series was that of abolishing the slave trade
in the District of Columbia. That trade had lost much of its
system by the retrocession to Virginia of the portion of the extent by the retrocession to Virginia of that portion of the District lying south of the Potomac and by other events. It was reduced, I think I was informed, to a single prison or depot in which slaves were deposited. Those slaves were not bought in the District, but were brought chiefly from Maryland and Virginia into the District. It was a trade in which the inhabitants of the District had no sort of interest; on the contrary they wished it abolished. Southern gentlemen, years and years ago, had expressed the opinion that it ought to be abolished. It sometimes exhibited the institution of slavery in one of its most painful and unpleasant forms. I have myself seen, not often nor lately, gangs of slaves chained together driven through Pennsylvania avenue. And what humane person can contemplate such a spectacle without painful feelings? The existence of the trade gave rise to great clamor and great exaggeration at the North. Why should it be continued in the District? Why not let the trader, if he be continued in the District? Why not let the trader, if he chooses to continue to prosecute his business, go to Alexandria, to Richmond, to Annapolis, or to Baltimore? If the States of Virginia and Maryland will not allow him to go there, that is no reason why he should be tolerated in the District. It was within the clear and indisputable power of Congress to abolish the trade. In putting an end to it Congress has done no more than Kentucky has done in forbidding trading in slaves as merchandise—than the State of Mississippi has done which invested in her constitution a similar weeklighting. done which inserted in her constitution a similar proh Mr. Speaker, in common with others, I had foreseen the than many other slaveholding States have done. The law dark and gathering storm. The perhaps presumptuous hope that I might, under the blessing of Providence, be an humble instrument in assisting to allsy it, constituted a principal motive with me for returning to public life. Long before the meeting of Congress, and during the earlier part of the session it appeared almost avalational and the session is appeared almost avalational and the session in the signest does not touch or affect in the slighest degree the institution of slavery as it exists within the District. It does not prevent the inhabitants of the District from selling or otherwise alienating their slaves. It does not prevent the inhabitants of the District from selling or otherwise alienating the providence, and the session of the ses even from going out of the District, purchasing slaves, and bringing them within it for their own use. The law was a sion, it engaged almost exclusively all my most anxious thoughts. The result of my reflections was that series of resolutions which I presented to the Senate of the United States in February last. My desire was to embrace all the subjects of agitation arising out of the institution of slavery, and to impartial men would concur.

Such, Mr. Speaker, is a brief account of the system of measures recommended by the committee of thirteen. That committee thought it expedient to unite in one bill all those appointed by the Senate, charged with the duty of considering all the subjects. The committee reported, and their various measures varied but inconsiderably from the resolutions
which I had previously offered.

Those different measures were, the admission of California
as a State into the Union; the establishment of Territorial

the parties as to what might be the result if the several measures were separately proposed. One said to the other, i we pass what you want, having got it, you will afterwards refuse to give us what we want. By the combination of the mea-sures each party would see and know the exact extent of what it conceded, and what was conceded to it, and, being once passed, there would be no risk of bad faith. The frie the compromise were in favor of all the measures, either in the aggregate or in detail. Wedded to no matter of mere form,

actuated by no pride of opinion, they were animated with no try. The opponents of the compromise, with some excep-tions, were against the measures in the aggregate and in detail, and their objection, therefore, to their union was not the true and real objection. But for their indiscreet and bitter opposition the omnibus would have passed months before the separate bills passed. Happily the whole system of measures, as originally proposed, finally prevailed in both Houses of Congress. The propriety of the union of some of them was demonstrated in the House of Representatives by the fact that when the Texas boundary question was presented as a sepa-rate measure, it was rejected by a majority of more than forty, and when afterwards it was united with the bill for establishing a Territorial Government for New Mexico, without the Wi mot proviso, it was carried by a decisive majority.

And now, Mr. Speaker, let us for a moment pause, consider what are the actual losses and gains by the two sec-tions of the Union in the adoption of this system of measures. I think that as to California, neither party, so far as the action of Congress is concerned, can be truly said to have gained or lost. What has been done there has been done by a compethe subject of the Wilmot proviso, that body had been not conly unable to give its assent to the formation of a State in California, but had totally failed to perform the high and imperative duty of establishing a Territorial Government for California. It had left California without law, without order, without Government, in a state almost of perfect anarchy. In such an abandoned condition the people of California had a right, as any rational community mone sorth. fornia had a right, as any rational community upon earth would have had a right, to institute government for themselves, and to establish law and order. As to the extent of the territorial limits of California, we all felt that they were had been before disputed and controverted. The South gets quite large, and if they could have been reformed without regetting the State and remanding it back into a Territorial condition, perhaps some modification weuld have been made in
the limits. But, large as they are, it is not believed that they demanded, in my humble opinion, by the honor, the dignity and the true interests of both the South and the North.

Will that system of measures allay excitement and agit tion, and pacify, tranquillize, and harmonize the country I hope, trust, and believe it will. At all events, the field f excitement and agitation has been greatly circumscribed No longer can California be a theme to create division amongs us. She is now an admitted member of this Union, and can no more be put out of it than Kentucky or Virginia or any other State can be put out of it. No longer can the Wilmot proviso be insisted upon, to be engrafted upon the Territorial Governments of New Mexico and Utah; for I venture to predict that if any attempt be made to fasten that proviso upon those Governments, it will be resisted by a decisive if not indignant majority in one or both Houses of Congress. No longer can the subject of the Texas boundary be one of agitation and controversy; for, from all that I have heard, the people of Texas themselves, who had the undoubted right to decide for themselves whether they would accept or reject the proposals of Congress, have, as I never doubted they would concentrate to these proposals. As to the slave would, consented to those proposals. As to the slave trade bill in the District of Columbia, the North, I presume, will hardly attempt a repeal of that, and I confidently anticipate that no such attempt will be seriously made on the part of the South. In respect to slavery within the District of Columbia, which is dying a natural death rapidly, I think we may confidently hope for freedom from all distu

Thus, Mr. Speaker, I trust and believe that of all the nu merous threatening topics connected with slavery at the com-mencement of the late session of Congress, one only remains to create interest and solicitude, and that is the fugitive slave bill. Narrowed down to that single ground, the slaveholdin States will occupy the vantage position. The constitution is with them, the law is with them, the right is with them who is to be reproached for the exclusion of slavery in California, New Mexico, and Utah? Not Congress, most assuredly. The reproaches must be directed against the peo- will place itself clearly, manifestly, and indisputably in the peo-

wrong. Occupying such a ground, the slaveholding States may fearlessly and confidently await the issue. It was not to be expected, nor did I expect, that the meaning the people immediate and constant account of Congress would lead to sures adopted at the last session of Congress would lead to immediate and general acquiescence on the part of the ultras at the North and at the South. They had been impelled by such violent and extreme passions that it was too much to expect that they would silently and promptly admit their error, and yield to what had been done for the best interests of our common country. Accordingly we perceive that at the South a second edition of the Hartford Convention has sean assembled, and is beginned to the first order.

has again assembled, and is laboring to stir up strife and con-tention; and in several of the slaveholding States the spirit of discord and disunion is busily engaged in its unpatriotic work. But I confidently anticipate that all these mad efforts will be put down by the intelligence, the patriotism, and the love of union of the people of the various slaveholding States. And here, Mr. Speaker, let us make a momentary inquiry as to what would have been the condition of the parts of the Confederacy on the subject of slavery, if unhappily it had been dissevered. Assuming that the line could have been drawn between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, all north of the States of Maryland and Virginia, and all nexth

and sovereign Power. Contrast, if you please, our presidition with what it would have been under that order of At present we have a right, if any slave escapes from his service, to demand his surrender. We have a right to take the constitution and the law in our hand, and to require the surrender. I do not believe that there will be any open and forcible resistance to the execution of the law. The people of the North have too strong a sense of the propriety of the obedience to the law for that. But, if there be any such resistance, we have a right to invoke the employment of any part of the militia of the United States, or the army or the navy of the United States to enforce the execution of the law. And, although I have no authority to commit President law. And, although I have no authority to commit President Fillmore to any specific line of duty, I have known him long, well, and intimately, and I feel entire confidence in him as man of ability, and of honesty, and of patriotism, who will perform his duty, and his whole duty, in seeing to the faithful execution of the laws of the land, to which I pledge the support of the utmost of my poor ability. In the existing state of things, we doubtless shall not recover all our fugitive slaves that escape. We shall, however, recover some, and the courts and juries in the free States have demonstrated their readiness to give, by their verdicts and indements, ample inreadiness to give, by their verdicts and judgments, ample in-domnity against those who entice, seduce away, and harbon

of the Ohio river, would have become a foreign, independent,

our runaway slaves. But how would the case stand in a dism of the Confederacy? Then we would not have a right to demand a solitary slave that might escape beyond the Ohio into what would then be a foreign Power. If all the slaves of Kentucky, in that contingency, were to fice beyond the Ohio river, we would not have a right to demand one of them-In the absence of extradition treaties (and no such treaties would ever be concluded in respect to slaves) we should have would ever be concluded in respect to slaves) we should have no right to demand a surrender of one of them. Nothing is clearer in the whole public law of nations than that one independent foreign Power is not bound to surrender a fugitive who takes refuge in the dominions of another independent foreign Power. We have recently seen this great international principle acted upon by the Sultan of Turkey in the case of Kossuth and his Hungarian compatriots, who took refuge in the Sultan's dominions; and his refusal to surrender them, upon the demand of Russia and Austria, was enthusiastically admired, approved, and applauded by all

the clear right on our side. Dissolve the Confederacy, and create new and independent Powers, the law and the right would be transferred from us to them.

would be transferred from us to them.

I may be asked, as I have been asked, when I would consent to a dissolution of the Union? I answer, never—never—never; because I can conceive of no possible contingency that would make it for the interests and happiness of the people to break up this glorious Confederacy and to separate it into bleeding and belligerent parts. Show me, what I believe to be impossible to show me, that there will be greater security for liberty, life, property, peace, and human happiness in the midst of jarring, jealous, and warring independent North American Powers than under the eagle of the Union, and I will conseat to its dissolution. I would yield to it if Congress were to usure a power, which I am sure it never Congress were to usurp a power, which I am sure it never will, to abolish slavery within the limits of the States; for in the contingency of such a usurpation we should be in a bester condition as to slavery, bad as it would be, out of the

Apprehensions have been entertained and expressed as to the want, in future time, of territorial scope for the slave po-pulation. I believe that at a very distant day, not very likely to occur in the present or the next century, whenever the vast unoccupied wastes in Mississippi, Arkaneas, Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, and Texas shall become fully peopled, Alabama, Florida, and Texas shall become fully peopled, slavery will have reached its natural termination. The density of population in the United States will then be so great that there will be such a reduction in the price and value of labor as to render it much cheaper to employ free than slave labor, and slaves, becoming a burden to their owners, will be voluntarily disposed of and allowed to go free. Then I hope and believe, under the dispensations and blessings of Providence, that the continent of Africa, by the system of colonization, will be competent to receive from America all the descendants of its own race.

he descendants of its own race.

If the agitation in regard to the fugitive slave law should continue and increase and become alarming, it will lead to the other against the Union. Present parties have been created by division of opinion as to systems of national policy, as to finance, free trade or protection, the improvement of rive and harbors, the distribution of the proceeds of the publ and harbors, the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, &c. But these systems of policy, springing out of the administration of the Government of the Union, lose all their interest and importance if that Union is to be dissolved. They sink into utter insignificance before the all-important, pervasive, and parameunt interest of the Union itself. And the platform of that Union party will be, the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of its laws. And if it should be necessary to form such a perty, and it should be accordingly formed, I announce myself, in this place, a member of that Union party, whatever may be its component elements. Sir, I go further: I have had great hopes and confidence in that Union party, whatever may be its component elements. Sir, I go further: I have had great hopes and confidence in the principles of the Whig party, as being most likely to conduce to the honor, the prosperity, and the glory of my country. But if it is to be merged into a contemptible abolition party, and if abolitionism is to be engrafted on the Whig creed, from that moment I renounce the party and cease to be a Whig. I go yet a step further: if I am slive, I will give my humble support for the Presidency to that man, to whatever party he may belong, who is uncontaminated by fanaticism, rather than to one who, crying out all the time and aloud that he is a Whig, maintains doctrines utterly subversive of the Constitution and the Union. the Constitution and the Union.

Mr. Speaker, I speak without reserve, and with entire freedom. If there be a man who treads the soil of this broad earth that feels himself perfectly independent, I am that man. I have no ambitious aspirations. I want no office, no station in the gift of man. I would resign that which I hold if I thought I could do so at this time with honor. I want no place whatever—I beg pardon, sir, there is one place only which I desire, and that is a warm place in your hearts.

Out of our late heated discussions and divisions one good result has been produced. The people generally, Whigs and Democrats, have been more thrown together in free and friendly intercourse. Both have learned to appreciate each other better. For myself, I say, alike with truth and pleasure, that during the late arduous and pretracted session I was in conference and consultation quite as often, if not oftener, with Democrats than Whigs; and I found in the Democratic party quite as much patriotism, devotion to the Union, honor, and probity, as in the other party.

Mr. Speaker, the State of Kentucky, although not one of

the largest States in point of population, occupies a proud and lofty position in the Confederacy. She was the pioneer State in the settlement of this great valley. She is geographically not remote from the centre of the Union, to which she has been always firmly attached. The renown of her a ma and the uncalculating gallantry of her people are every where known and admitted. To every field of battle within her reach, since the days of the revolution, her sons have rushes and poured out freely their patriotic blood. That splendis monument upon yonder hill overlooking this picturesque val-ley, so creditable to the sculptor for the beauty of its classic design and the excellence of its chaste execution, attests their glory and the efficting loss of their friends and country. glory and the efficing loss of their friends and country. Covered, as the column almost is, with the names of the heroic dead, let us cling to the Union until there is not a space left upon the marble for inscribing the names of those who may hereafter fall in fighting the battles of their common country. Whilst the Northwestern States, and Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and Tennessee, and Kentucky remain firm in their attachment to the Confederacy, no presumptuous hand will dare to attempt to draw succe ine of its separation.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I renew an expression of my respectful acknowledgments for the distinguished honor of this occasion. It will form an epoch in my life, will be ever herished most gratefully in my memory, and will be trans-

mitted to my descendants as a precious legacy to them. [NOTE BY THE REPORTER. - During the delivery of the preceding speech there were frequent bursts of enthusiastic applause, but it has not been deemed necessary to mark them

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